/139 cont./

412 322 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the [381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld 415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty [531] ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre- [412] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick pointed at one end.

301 531 Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to obtain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

264 Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morning, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

262 There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten. The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] [882] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

266 I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Furthermore, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

304 All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

294 The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
[412] an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere, or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

> 1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

222 311 In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

- Hunting
- Occasional veld crop gathering
- Collecting wood
- Fetching water
- Preparing hides
- Making clothes
- Making weapons and mortars
- Making strings
- Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

- Hut construction
- Cooking
- Veld crop collecting
- Maintaining the fire
- Getting wood
- Getting water
- Making women's clothes

●412 The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick (see Fig. 9).

222 For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

- Tschamma
- Spiny tschamma
- Ontjes of the Boers
- Water tubers
- So-called "wild potatoes"

●4/2

Fig. 9. Digging Stick. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

[276] a, stick; b, point for digging; b^1, the same viewed from the side.

Fig. 10. Tobacco Pipe (cross-section). One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 531 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth. A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
281 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

283 The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

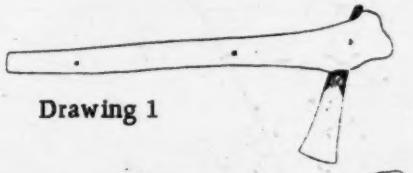
[177]

The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

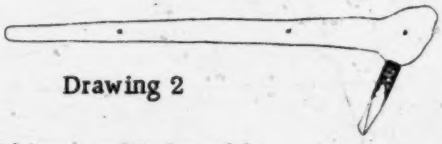
a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1



Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

301

Auen

Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

291

Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

222
●412

Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

291
411
412

Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

291
301

Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

291
411
412

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

291
301

Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [53] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. 301 Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich [321] egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [556] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [462] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

412

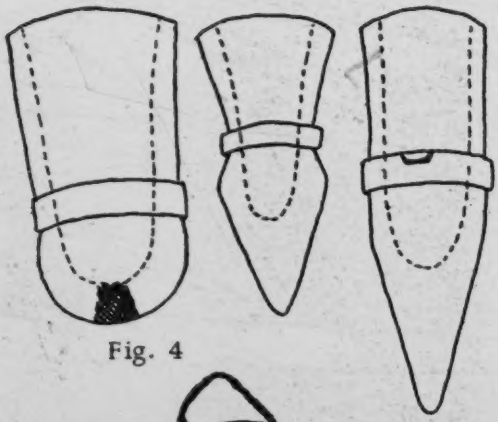


Fig. 4

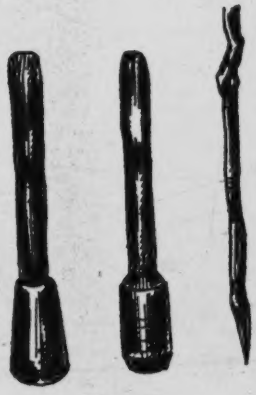


Fig. 7

415
412

Fig. 5

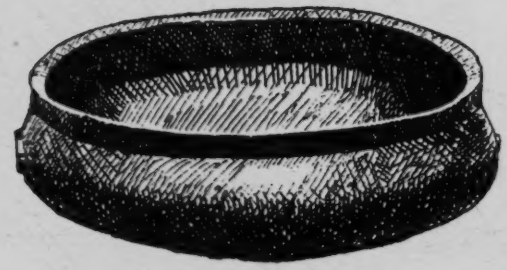


Fig. 6

Fig. 8

(Captions on following page.)

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

415 Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a ● [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

352 For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

412 There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

276 There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.

[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

415 /258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with

[241] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather

[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that

[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dâ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the

[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

412 A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill

[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

482 In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature. 137X

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil. 322 412 824

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52. 137X

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n!ain!ai
ǁganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!gaba
ǀgikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n!ain!ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species. 372 412 824

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53. 137X

ǀgikwe Bushman.....	ǀhurugu
Naron Bushman.....	ǀhɔrɔ
Eastern !khū Bushman	ǀhɔrɔ

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

224 622 visits a *//gãus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-/ais* with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 777 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal [262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *ǂnoe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gãus*.

184 224 262 784 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and as far as is known at present this practice exists among the *Xom-khoin*, *!Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gãus*, sleep under the *!hei-s* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 252 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length. Ö intjes, *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a 141 412 415 few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and 301 the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand
under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1965) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

PART I

101
131
A PEOPLE, small of stature, few in numbers, calling themselves "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land—large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word
101
used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

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WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, *above*, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

[p. 4]

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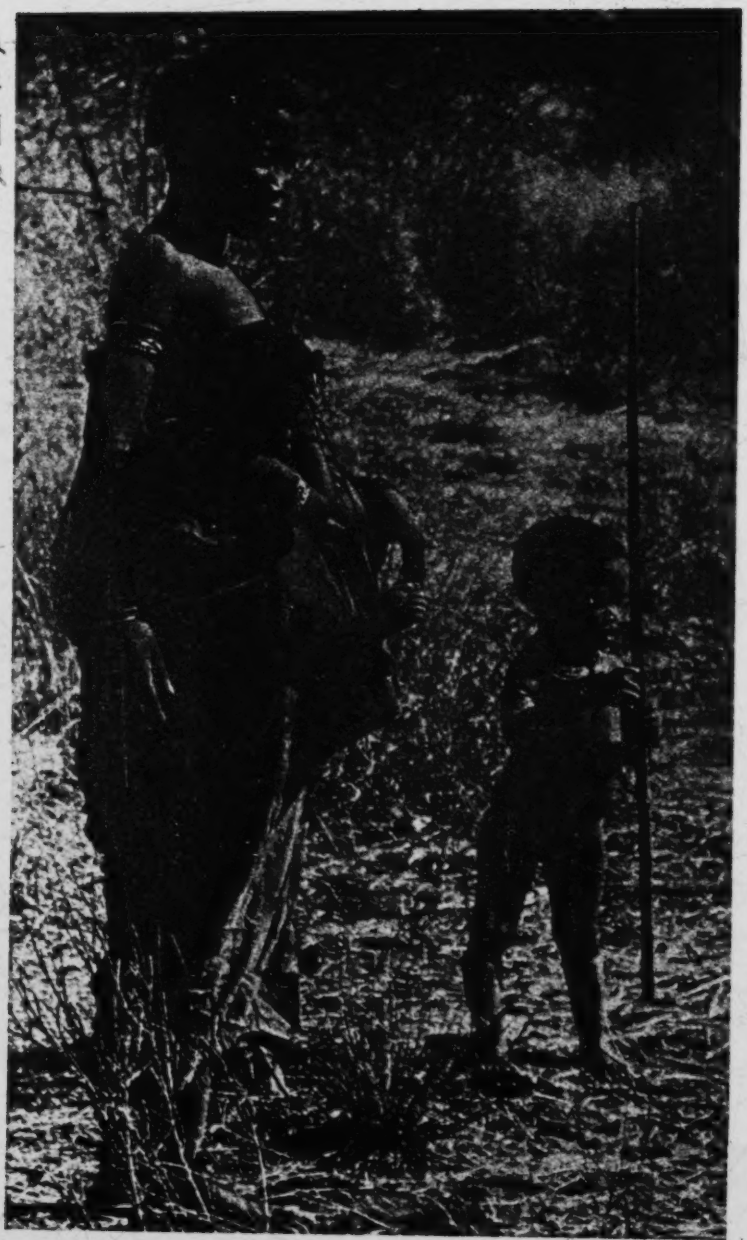

!Kung mother, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

[p. 11]

114

JOHN MARSHALL is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

[42]

224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

222 461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p. 41]

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[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

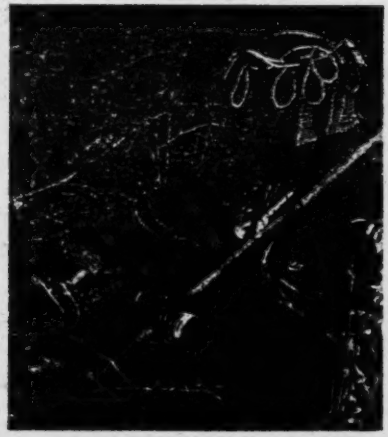

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

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[140]
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FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

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FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

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FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

[p. 240-D]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 when the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

222 [412] [101] [484] [361] [854] [482] [372]

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

252 264

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
231 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

361

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

p. 256

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed //*guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

222
482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

222
412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

224
412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

412
222 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] [278] [231]

1. bow
2. arrow poison
3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] [177] [412] [283] [177]

10. fire drill
11. flint and steel fire making kits
12. digging stick
13. iron knife
14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

224
411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

• [412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 [231] The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

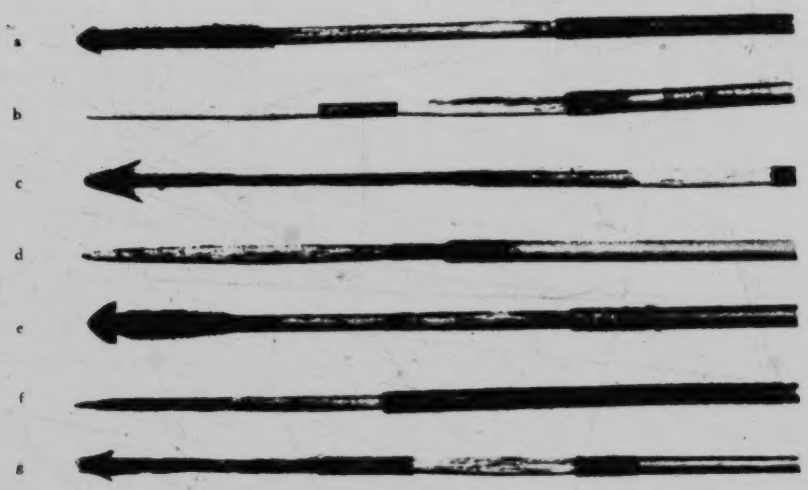
The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE IX

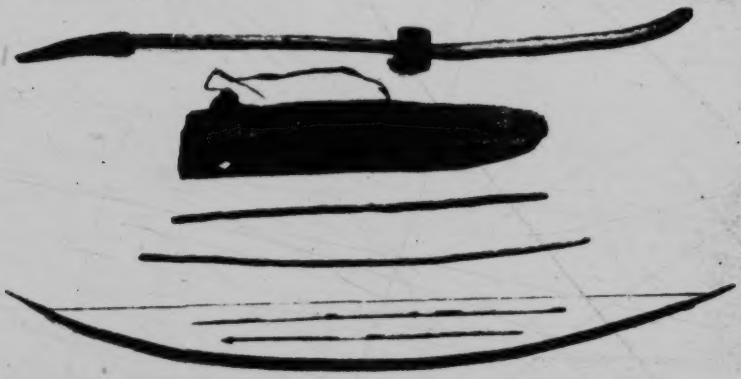
411



BUSHMAN ARROW-HEADS *British Museum*

f Simplest type: main shaft of reed, bone point coated with poison
a, e Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, barb and iron point coated with poison
c, g Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, reed collar or link shaft, and barbed iron head
b, d Reversible head; in b the poisoned end protrudes, in d the head is reversed

[412]



BUSHMAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS *British Museum*

a Digging-stick passed through perforated stone ball and tipped with horn
b Leather quiver for arrows
c Fire-sticks
d Bow and Arrows

[*face p.* 231]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

114 278 There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

224 278 None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

411 [412] In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 206.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 34.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. [222] [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. [222] [622] [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the */naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 393–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann-op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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372 [412] [415] decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom, [283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 285 [412] Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 [415] [306] Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water, and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small 412 324 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or [439] [326] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 324 [323] The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which 321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for [237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while [415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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PLATE XI

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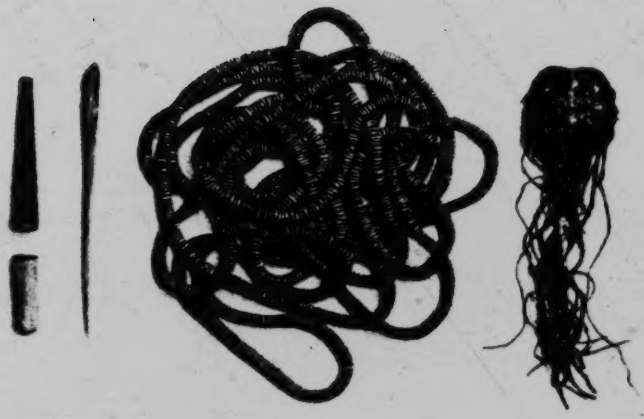

a b c d

British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

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L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 158]